

Excerpt from Ovarum,
Born at the Right Time

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The Fifties and the Cult of the Teenager

In 1960 the first of the baby-boomers turned thirteen – the new decade and a new stage of life thus coinciding. This synchronicity is symbolically appropriate, for 'the sixties' became one of the great mythological eras of modern times and that mythology in turn created the mythology of the baby boom. It was in 'the sixties' (a period that actually extends, in historical terms, through the early seventies) that the baby boom became conscious of itself as generational force and began to think of itself as special, not for the economic affluence it had been given, but for the moral and personal attributes it possessed. The generation and the decade, with all the images it connotes, thus became inseparably linked.

The popular imagery of the 1960s is so powerful in part because of the contrast with the 1950s. The family decade was trashed by the youth revolution. The technocratic age of the organization man ran headlong into a romantic reaction. Feeling and personal fulfilment took pride of place over logical debate and quiet compromise. Conformity was assailed by deliberately outrageous clothes, behaviour, and language. An age of timidity was supplanted by civil disobedience. Patriotism was smashed by cynicism. Most of all, the search for security and stability was mocked by those who sought emotional release and inner growth.

For several reasons such popular imagery, much of it generated by those who were active participants, is simplistic. First, as many others have noted, the 1950s were just as exceptional a decade as the 1960s.¹ The devotion of the 1950s to family and security, demonstrated in the high marriage rates, low divorce rates, and increased fertility rates, contradicted trends present since the nineteenth century. That such

an emphasis upon domesticity did not last through the 1960s should hardly be surprising. Second, as many scholars of the 'beat' generation, and early civil-rights movements have noted, the 1950s was not devoid of protest.² Further, the two decades are linked in another and important way: The youth cult of the 1960s had its basis in the 1950s. Thus, when the baby-boomers arrived at adolescence, they did so not only as a group of children who had always been treated as important, but in a society that gave youth culture a distinct and important position. The uniqueness of the generation was thus reinforced and enhanced in the transition from childhood to adolescence, from the fifties to the sixties.

THE BABY-BOOMERS WERE NOT THE first people to discover the special qualities of being young, though occasionally they seemed to think so. Different cultures have defined youth in different ways, and with greater or lesser clarity. The only common link has been the idea of a period between childhood and full adulthood that belonged fully to neither. In many instances formal religious customs, such as communion or the bar mitzvah, gave sacred overtones to the entry into this intermediate world. At the other end, different events were used as markers, depending on time and place. In some societies marriage brought full adult status. Other cultures, especially rural ones, made inheritance of family lands the key event. In yet others, the intermediate phase had no sharp beginning or end; rather, it emerged gradually out of childhood and drifted slowly towards adult respectability. In practically all societies, though, considerations of status, law, and custom have distinguished an intermediate period between childhood, on the one hand, and full membership in the adult community, on the other.³

The arrival of urbanization and industrialization in Western society initiated long-term and fundamental changes to the concept of youth. There has been a general tendency, for example, from the eighteenth century to the present, to refine the distinctions between various ages. Thus, to give one example, when the average length of schooling increased by five to six years, as it did in Britain between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, it lengthened that intermediate period between childhood, pure and simple, and adulthood. To give another example, the general improvement of diet in the Western world over the past centuries has led to a constant lowering of the age of puberty. The length of time between sexual awakening and emo-

tional and economic maturity has thus tended to increase, further emphasizing the existence of a special intermediate phase.

Yet the social and historical role of youth has not changed in a purely linear fashion. At various times there are relatively abrupt shifts which can be explained less by long-term trends than by short-term disturbances. This leads to the other major force shaping the role of youth historically. In the shorter term, 'episodic' forces enhance or diminish the role of youth in the wider society.⁴ The turbulent world of early nineteenth-century Europe, for example, brought forward a youthful intellectual movement which was self-consciously distinct from the Enlightenment rationalists of the old order. These youthful romantics exerted tremendous influence on both thought and the direction of politics through to the revolutions of 1848. Thereafter, for many years, youth's hold upon the culture and mind of Europe faded.

The impact of the 1960s can be explained, at least in part, by the confluence of such an episodic shift in the role of youth with the longer-term trends brought about by modern urban-democratic society. The result was an upheaval by youth and the assertion of a generational identity such as that experienced by post-Napoleonic Europe. After 1945 long-term tendencies that emphasized the distinctiveness of youth were accelerated, while short-term cyclical forces shoved youth to the fore. Political and social change provided youth with a cause and an opportunity to assert itself upon the world stage, at least briefly. The baby-boomers grew up amid a cult of family and childhood, and they would themselves shift the emphasis towards a cult of youth as they reached adolescence. There was no reason understandable to the minds of youth why they should wait until adult 'judgment' seasoned their thinking. Indeed, adult judgment was mistrusted in a world that looked ever more to the spontaneity of youth.

The very demand for spontaneity denied the forces of the past. Yet, more than the baby-boomers realized, the youth culture of the 1960s was the product of previous generations. Much of their identity as a group originated in currents of thought dating back to at least the turn of the century. In those years the new social sciences, supported by medical theorists, asserted that adolescence was a special and unalterable phase in human growth. Its beginning was determined not by educational experience or the workplace, but by the onset of puberty and its end, for lack of a better definition, by the successful transition into the adult world. A stage of life that had previously been under-

stood in educational and economic terms and more or less reserved to the middle class now became a scientific 'fact.' Indeed, educational and work experiences were no longer relevant to the definition, and adolescence was thereby extended to all elements of society.

The definition of adolescence in scientific terms developed simultaneously in many Western countries and was tied to Freudian theories of sexual development.⁵ In North America the scientific certification of adolescence emanated from the man who first brought Freud to visit America, the president of Clark University, G. Stanley Hall.⁶ In 1911, Hall published his grandiose titled two-volume work on adolescence: *Adolescence and Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education*.⁷ Audacious though such a title might be, Hall's work was a tremendous success. He was able to synthesize emerging scientific notions on adolescence in a way that became the standard for others in the field.

Hall was a psychologist but, as with many others of his generation, he had migrated to the discipline from a background in the humanities and theology.⁸ In a kind of parallel journey, Hall was determined to remove the discussions of adolescence from the religious-moral realm to that of the sciences in general, and psychology in particular. Influenced by Charles Darwin and 'recapitulation' theory, Hall believed that growth from childhood to adulthood re-created the stages of human development from the primitive to the modern.⁹ Biological change thus determined, or largely determined, psychological outlook. For physiological and psychological reasons, Hall asserted over and over again, the adolescent was a creature in a state of emotional stress. The 'profound effect of adolescence in producing disturbances of the nervous system and of the mind is recognized in many a custom of the savages.' There was good reason for this, he argued, for 'psychoses and neuroses abound in early adolescent years more than at any other period of life.' Drawing upon the recent work of Freud and others, Hall painted a picture familiar to postwar eyes. The traumas of growth and sexual development created a crucial and dangerous time of transition. Hysteria, insanity, melancholy, and moral collapse were all possible. Immoral or, more appropriately, socially maladjusted actions were almost to be expected.¹⁰

Other social scientists added to Hall's theories over the next decades, but the essential elements remained. As Kenneth Keniston noted, Hall's description of adolescence as a time of 'storm and drang' turbulence, ambivalence, dangers and possibilities' remained central

to practically all psychological discussions.¹¹ Such theory migrated into literature and movies, and, as Freud's ascendancy increased, became a popular public characterization.¹² The adolescent had gone from 'trouble-maker to troubled,' in the words of one historian.¹³ More precisely perhaps, they were troublemakers because they were naturally troubled.¹⁴

Such attitudes remained durable because social and economic trends reinforced the idea of adolescence as a distinct experience. The average amount of time spent in school continued to increase with each decade. This is crucial to the notion of adolescence, for as long as most children left school at age twelve or fourteen, the concept of a distinct 'intermediate' stage between childhood and adulthood remained limited in application - too large a percentage of children worked on a day-to-day basis in an adult world. In 1921, for example, more than 40 per cent of all Canadian ten- to nineteen-year-olds were not in school.¹⁵ For these 'adolescents' distinctiveness from the adult world meant only lower wages and limited independence. Their day-to-day life was an adult one - as apprentices, domestic employees, or whatever. The truly special world of the youthful adolescent in the first decades of the twentieth century thus remained confined to two groups - the educated middle class and the young criminal.

After 1945 this situation changed. The earlier expansion of compulsory school-attendance laws had extended the world of adolescence upwards to the age of sixteen. Through the 1950s, adolescence in Canada was extended both in age range and in class as more and more teenagers remained for more and more high school. By 1954 the majority of fourteen- to seventeen-year-olds were in school; by the early 1960s, three out of four. Adolescence increasingly had its own particular institutions - the high school - with all the social and educational implications that entailed.

Embedded in these long-term changes were short-term episodic forces. Youth culture in Canada has yet to be studied for most periods, but work on the United States indicates that, in the early part of the century, the 1920s marked the high-water mark of youth culture. Fads in fashion, food, and language swept the nation, and the image of the flapper became mythologized.¹⁶ Canada was a somewhat tamer society, but the basic forces that unleashed the flapper era on American campuses were present in Canada: growing urban populations, a large youth population, relative affluence, and greater autonomy within the family.¹⁷ Moreover, Canadian society was very much open to influ-

ences from south of the border - including movies out of Hollywood, American periodicals, and the new cultural medium of radio.

For almost a quarter-century thereafter, events diminished the importance of youth culture. That culture had depended upon affluence, but the Depression subordinated youthful frivolity to the grim reality of preparing for a difficult adult world. Adolescents and young adults stayed at home longer, and thus remained under the shadow of their parents. While the war changed much, it did not alter the low profile of the adolescent. The problem now was that the adult world was so accessible. The armed forces and the war factories absorbed hundreds of thousands of people still in their teens. The very notion of an adolescent subculture was temporarily subsumed within the larger and more imprecise term 'youth.' It was no accident that the Canadian Youth Commission ignored adolescence as a category and opted instead to look at fifteen- to twenty-four-year-olds.¹⁸

Immediately after the war, the deciding factor was numbers. The low birth rates of the 1930s skewed the population so that, by the later 1940s, the percentage of teenagers was at an all-time low in twentieth-century Canada. Nor did the immediate future for teenage culture look all that promising. The percentage of ten- to fourteen-year-olds, who would soon enter adolescence, was even lower - some 9 per cent of total population by 1951, and only 7 per cent in Ontario and British Columbia. This meant that, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, adolescents were unable to exert much of a cultural presence. Their numbers, their consuming powers, the interests - all were overshadowed by the young adults born in the 1920s who were buying houses, having babies, and contributing to postwar prosperity. So weak was the adolescent presence that a study by Canadian sociologists even challenged the notion that there was a distinct adolescent culture.¹⁹

Teenage cult figures of these years were a particularly moody and withdrawn lot. Typical was Holden Caulfield, the sixteen-year-old hero of J.D. Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye* or the less well-known Natalie Waite of Shirley Jackson's *Hangman* (both 1951). James Dean, in *East of Eden* or *Rebel without a Cause*, and Marlon Brando, in *The Wild One*, brought the same dark edge to the screen. The moodiness no doubt captured some of the natural 'angst' of adolescence that the psychologists and sociologists were always talking about. It also reflected the obsession of the age with psychology. It may also have had a particular poignancy for this generation of teenagers. Powerlessness and purposelessness in an adult-dominated world is a theme that

runs through these and many other works of the decade.²⁰ They could not change the world but they could resist its pull. In contrast, the baby boom never accepted such limits.

When adolescents are powerless to assert their own image, adults will. This is what happened in the decade immediately after the war. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, adult discussion about youth almost invariably focused on a particularly adult concern – juvenile delinquency.²¹ The prevalent stereotype of adolescent culture included a leather jacket, jeans, and dangling cigarette. Such imagery stood as an antithesis and underturrent in an age dominated by dreams of suburbs and children. It frightened and titillated the adults who found so much evidence of wayward youth. It also provided the basis through which a youthful identity reasserted itself.

By the end of the Second World War, the idea of the 'juvenile delinquent' was well established both in the public mind and in the law. The notion dated back to mid-Victorian England, where changing social and economic conditions, as well as Victorian evangelism, led to the belief that 'young criminals' should be treated differently from their adult counterparts. As early as 1854 the United Kingdom's Youthful Offenders Act allowed young criminals to be treated separately from adults.²² Across the Atlantic, the Canadian colonies followed suit.²³

The development of a distinct concept of the juvenile delinquent in law soon reorganized the very concept of youth. Juvenile delinquency acts provided for offenders from the ages of ten or twelve (depending on place and time) to sixteen or eighteen. Those under the minimum age were seen as children and not legally responsible. Those above that age were treated as adults. This division was reinforced by the 1890s crusade of J.J. Kelso to create Children's Aid Societies in Ontario. By 1894 the federal government extended the principle across the country. Children's Aid automatically intervened for offenders under the age of twelve. The final major step came in 1908, when the federal government passed the Juvenile Delinquents Act for offenders under sixteen.²⁴ Though there were later refinements, the basic concepts of this act were still in place at the end of the Second World War.

The emergence of juvenile delinquency as a cultural and legal concept in Canada had many implications. Delinquency became a catch-all concept. Those under sixteen were further distinguished from adult society. A whole new bureaucracy of 'child savers' developed as auxiliaries to the juvenile court system. Perhaps most important, the concept of delinquency blurred the line between criminal and

non-criminal behaviour. The merger of Children's Aid services with the criminal justice system, the softening of that system for adolescents, and the emergence of special adolescent 'crimes' such as truancy meant that 'troublesome' youth could more easily fall under the umbrella of 'delinquency' in the eyes of society, social workers, and even the law itself. Delinquency legislation over a century had clearly distinguished between the youthful offender and the adult. It had paid a price, however, in that, at the other end, it had blurred the line between assistance for the troubled and coercion for the criminal.²⁵ Juvenile delinquency could mean anything from murder to skipping school or just being uncooperative with officials. Both the state of 'juvenile delinquency' and the definition of the 'juvenile delinquent' were thus especially susceptible to societal neuroses.

Two main forces made the issue of the juvenile delinquent important in the 1940s and 1950s. The first was the Second World War. The absence of fathers in the military and the absence of mothers in the factory forced families to adopt makeshift arrangements for child care.²⁶ This set of abnormal arrangements gave adolescents a degree of autonomy greater than normal, and there were some social consequences. Illegitimate births increased, as did the number of juveniles charged with various vagrancy and small-property offences.²⁷ These changes were reinforced by general anxiety about the postwar world. Juvenile delinquency was, said one 1946 article, 'one of the most serious and pressing issues facing Canada now that the war is over.'²⁸ A Québec Catholic group, reporting to the Canadian Youth Commission, warned that three-quarters of all juvenile delinquents came from the homes of working mothers.²⁹ The juvenile-delinquency problem was thus incorporated into the general desire to reassert the 'normal' structures after 1945 discussed in chapter 1.

The second force underlying the obsession with youth crime is a little less obvious. After the war the image of the 'jd' problem persisted, and even strengthened. Sensationalist articles played up the problem of the juvenile delinquent. 'For fun, these young gangsters brawled. For thrills they stole and got drunk. What makes them tick? A reporter and a social worker find out.'³⁰ Yet all available evidence indicates that juvenile delinquency in the late 1940s and early 1950s was not a problem. The number of juvenile cases before the courts dropped to the lowest levels in more than twenty years, while high levels of employment ensured that youth moved relatively quickly from school to the workforce.³¹ The contradiction between image and reality indicates

that youthful crime reflected the anxieties of the age. The rebellious adolescent was the antithesis of the healthy family. The existence of surly boys, promiscuous girls, alienation, and even, on occasion, crime, challenged the myth of the perfect suburban society (and hence fascinated). There was also a warning, however. Public opinion, drawing upon the psychological fads of the age, blamed parents for a teenager's waywardness.²² Thus juvenile delinquents reminded parents of their duties and responsibilities. Here is what will happen to your children if you are not good parents!

Canadian concerns were magnified by American obsessions. Dozens of articles on juvenile delinquency were published annually in major American periodicals. From the late 1940s, both the American Justice Department and the Senate became almost as active in rooting out juvenile delinquents as they were in chasing Communists.²³ It was Hollywood, however, that really convinced the American public of the dangers of juvenile delinquency. Through the late 1940s and the 1950s, at least sixty movies portrayed youth as alternately alienated and depraved, or both.²⁴ Hollywood produced dozens of juvenile delinquent films in the decade after the war, including such forgettable cinematic events as *City Across the River* (1949), *Running Wild* (1955), *Teenage Crime Wave* (1955), and *Teenage Wolfpack* (1956). Two movies, however, defined the genre and made teenage rebellion both a popular myth and an art form. *The Wild One* (1954) starred a young Marlon Brando as an angst-ridden motorcycle-gang leader. A year later, James Dean glorified drag-racing and more teenage angst in *Rebel without a Cause* (1955). Dean's own death in a car accident only intensified the cult that already existed around him. Not only were both movies interesting in their own right, but their anti-heroes pervasively confirmed the deepest values of the age. Both were rebels because their families had failed them. Both expressed their anguish in terms familiar to anybody who had read Freud or understood the popular notions of adolescence as a troubled age! Both thus reaffirmed the age even as they rebelled against it.

By the early 1950s the obsession with the juvenile delinquent was at an all-time high. Yet something else was happening. The very obsession with youth culture and with the tremendous popularity of Dean and Brando hinted that the episodic forces that had so worked against the cohesion and influence of a youthful culture were now reverting themselves. The forces that were to explode onto the scene in the 1960s were beginning to build.

BY THE MID-1950S THE WAKING BABIES were entering adolescence. From this point until well into the 1970s, episodic forces accentuated the role of the adolescent in society. Between 1951 and 1961, the ten-to-nineteen age group in Canada increased by more than a million people. Each year more and more of the Canadian population were interested in adolescent fashions, issues, and identity. In the United States the adolescent population rose just as quickly and, on both sides of the border, the pretenses of the baby boom moved ever closer to adolescence. As well, high-school participation rates were having an effect. In 1954 the proportion of fourteen- to seventeen-year-olds still in school went over 50 per cent for the first time in Canadian history. Within six years, two-thirds of the age group were still students.²⁵ Not only were there more adolescents, but their activities were increasingly defined by an age-specific institution – the high school. The final ingredient was market power. The continually rising standard of living in Canada made the adolescent market increasingly important.²⁶ In turn, the very existence of a special youth market reinforced the sense that youth were distinct from both children and adults.

Out of it all, sometime in the 1950s, the cult of the teenager was born. In many ways 'teenager' was just a more age-specific term for adolescence, but in others it was a special word because, unlike 'adolescence,' it implied a whole culture rather than merely a state of hormonal transition. Teenagers were an American invention, but television, magazines, and the general pervasiveness of American culture quickly carried it north of the border. As well, as others have noted, it was not the baby boom that invented modern youth culture, though they transformed it.²⁷ Instead, the institutions, cultural forms, and economic power of the teenager were all in place by the end of the 1950s. Most important of all, so, too, was the conscious sense that youth had its own unique culture, not congenial to adults and therefore all the more special. By the time the baby boom reached adolescence, the distinct world of the North American teenager was well entrenched.

Once the world decided that teenage culture existed, it was not hard to find. Special magazines like *16 Magazine* (founded in 1954), *Teen* (1957), and the original *Seventeen* (1944) catered to a teenage, usually female, audience. These were hardly rebellious underground magazines: Controlled by adults, they taught adults' values.²⁸ None the less, they focused on what was distinctive about teenage culture. Movie reviews, profiles of stars, music, and, above all, fashion dominated. Collectively they told their audience what a teenager was like and what

teenagers liked. Television also discovered the teenager. Practically all of the family sit-coms of 1950s and early 1960s had an adolescent character. Some, such as Ricky Nelson on *Ozzie and Harriet*, became major teen heroes. Advertisers weren't far behind. Soft drinks, chewing gum, and skin-care products, among others, created ads aimed specifically at the teen audience.

By the later 1950s the teenage culture was clearly defined.³⁹ It was also schizophrenic. In part it was based upon the images of alienation and disturbance that adults had decided was the nature of teenagers. The troubled figures of Holden Caulfield, James Dean, and Marlon Brando remained teenage idols through the decade.⁴⁰ The greased-back duck-tail haircut and leather jacket remained teen symbols, as the Elvis phenomenon testified. The market played to these images as well. The mail-order rebel could order a genuine black motorcycle jacket from Eaton's for \$18.98. The more ambivalent rebel could buy a tamed-down 'simulated leather windbreaker' for only \$14.98. The economy-minded rebel could buy a vinyl version for only \$13.95.⁴¹

The rebellious teenager provides an important subtheme running through the decade. It also provides a subculture that, along with the Beats, serves as a precursor to the much larger-scale rebellion of the 1960s. Yet, in many ways, this was a very limited rebellion. Thousands of middle-class teenagers might vicariously thrill to Brando or Dean, but few of the males dared wear a leather jacket. After all, few of the females would have dated a leather-jacketed 'hood.' Hollywood heroes aside, the imagery of jeans and leather was associated with just the sort of poor, broken family environments that the whole middle-class suburban lifestyle was constructed to avoid. Instead, much of teen culture was designed both to emulate the adult world and to provide a ritualistic means of preparing for entry into that world.

The most obvious example of teen as pre-adult comes in the sex roles assumed by teenagers. Boys and girls emulated the particular postwar combination of 'modernist' (i.e., consciously anti-Victorian) freedom and strictly defined gender roles. The macho leather-jacketed image and the all-pervasive car-craziness of boys reflected a world that both took pride in manliness and feared for its future. Girls were supposed to retain their virtue and collect their silverware in anticipation of the big day. When the two sexes interacted, the role-playing became especially complex. The evolution of sexual mores is discussed in detail in chapter 10. It is worth mentioning here, however, that the 1950s may be the high point of the dating culture,

reaching a peak in ritual and cultural function just before it began to fray in the 1960s.⁴²

Adult sex roles were rehearsed in reserving to the boy the initiative in dating and the cost of providing for the girl's expenses. All dating etiquette talked in terms of the boy as 'manly' (opening doors, assisting the 'weaker' sex). The girl, even if she knew she wasn't weaker, deferred to this ritual. When one girl wrote to a teen magazine that she had many boys who were friends but none of them dates, the editor replied that she was exuding too much competence. 'In a dating situation it's a boy who likes to feel stronger. And can you blame him - when the world will expect him to act in this strong and protective way later on, as husband and breadwinner? So, if you are the strong and superior one, where is he then? Or, rather, where are you?'⁴³ One of the first things girls learned was to protect the fragile ego of their dates.

Going steady was condemned by adults, but it, too, was a logical preparation for the adult world.⁴⁴ Adults feared, of course, that this was indeed the case, particularly in terms of sexual activity. Even if sexual activity was not a problem, adults could not fathom why fifteen-year-olds would tie themselves down when there was obviously so much more searching to be done for a suitable partner. Yet going steady had a clear purpose in a dating culture. First, it was a form of insurance. Dates were an essential element of being a part of teenage culture - attending dances, parties, movies, and so on depended on having a date. Going steady was a means of ensuring a date's availability. Most important of all, though, going steady was a direct mimicry of an adult world that valued marriage so highly and expected it to come so early.⁴⁵

The world of the teenager, therefore, was a peculiar combination of adult emulation and peer-group distinctiveness. Nowhere is this clearer than in the world of consumption. Teenage purchases and fads ranged from the tame to the outrageous. By purchasing in the teen market, however, the teenager was learning a valuable lesson for the adult world - how to consume according to the tastes that mattered: those of your peer group. The appropriate badges of membership in the peer group were displayed in thousands of variations across the country, depending on what was considered cool at any given moment and by any given group. Those too poor, too awkward, or physically or ethnically different often had a tough time of it, for the teenage world, like the adult world, demanded conformity. On the positive side, the activities and totems of peer-group membership provided both a form

of security and a path for learning how to interact with the culture around them.

Consumption, peer pressure, and emulation met most closely in the world of fashion. To employ Tom Wolfe's phrase, fashion is not the mere 'embroidery of history'. Rather, it reveals much about the social conventions, values, and assumptions of the age.⁴⁶ The rise of the teenager was matched by a conscious effort on the part of designers and retailers to play to the youth market. There was a new consciousness of 'young style' influencing designers and department store buyers. Many of the fashion designs that would become common in the 1960s had their roots in the works of young designers like Mary Quant in the later 1950s.⁴⁷ In other words, the pendulum of fashion was swinging towards the young. Within a few years middle-aged men in tight pants and middle-aged women in mini-skirts would demonstrate just how tyrannical the fashion of youth had become.

In 1959 the swing was just beginning, and a teenager's wardrobe mixed parental imitation and youthful fad. The typical middle-class Canadian boy's wardrobe would include corduroy pants, some dressier 'automatic-machine washable' slacks, and an assortment of tartan and plain-coloured shirts. Sweaters were very popular - mainly in V-neck and cardigan styles. Sports-jackets and suits had gone from baggy to trim, and teenagers were, for obvious reasons, faster to adopt this style were their fathers. Ties were also narrow and increasingly sedate. Fedoras, common attire for any dress outfit a decade earlier, were now out of fashion for youth.

The middle-class girl had a more complicated and slightly more formal wardrobe. Party dresses were still quite fancy and involved crinolines, and sometimes even a hoop skirt, a tremendously impractical fashion. Nearly all of her day-to-day outfits would have a more relaxed look: casual dresses, or skirts and blouses; pleated styles were very popular, so too were jumpers. White blouses with frilly collars were common, but the 'sweater look' remained dominant. Cardigans over blouses, pullovers, and 'twin sets' of matching pullover and cardigan were a crucial part of any girl's wardrobe. Slacks were also now common - usually in tartan. They were worn only on very casual occasions, however, and blue jeans, though infiltrating wardrobes, still had a 'tough image' in middle-class urban and suburban circles. Both sexes wore 'car coats', three-quarter length in corduroy or check. Girls would also likely own a longer dress coat. Saddle shoes, loafers, and, by the early 1960s, 'desert boots' provided footwear. In addition girls had

dress shoes in various heel heights, and boys owned some hideous and unlabeled pair of black lace-up shoes for dressy occasions.

Though parents grumbled, the dress standards of the late 1950s were hardly outrageous. They were evolving, however. Both sexes had quickly absorbed the growing informality of the postwar years, and now wore casual clothes in situations where a decade earlier such dress would have been thought inappropriate.⁴⁸ Girls were still more restricted in this direction, but slacks were appearing more and more in public, much to the dismay of conservative elements. Neither sex thought anything of wearing casual clothes in mixed company. Most important, however, was the simple rhythm of teen styles. The national and international peer group held sway to the degree that budget and parents and awareness allowed. White socks might be in or out, wide ties might be replaced by narrow ones, poodle skirts might triumph one year and fade the next, but the ritual went on. The fashion-conscious teenager knew that being distinctive required a keen sense of peer tastes.

A second area of consumption profoundly affected by the teenager was the movie theatre. The changing nature of the movie industry and movie audience both reflected and reinforced the growing interest in the teenager. This had not always been the case. In the 1940s movies were a truly mass entertainment. Neighbourhood cinemas provided relatively easy access for people without cars. Downtown theatres, featuring the first-run 'blockbusters,' were major attractions, drawing people to the city. For the average Canadian couple, a 'night on the town' did not consist of cocktails and dancing, but of a fairly straightforward dinner and a visit to one of the big movie theatres. This made the movies big business. In 1950, for example, Winnipeg had 43 movie theatres, and Toronto 124. Overall there were more than 1,800 movie theatres in Canada, and there were more than 23 million paid admissions, nearly 2 for every man, woman, and child in Canada.⁴⁹ More than a quarter of the average family's recreation expenditures went on theatre tickets. 'Going to the movies' on a regular basis was a part of the rhythm of life of the families of postwar Canada.

Children, adolescents, young adults, the middle-aged, seniors - all had to be attracted to these moviehouses if an industry of this size was to make money. Both society and the industry acted on the assumption that movies were for everybody. On the production side, the so-called Production Code clamped strong controls over sexual innuendo and language in movies. At the distribution level, provincial censor-

ship boards snipped out anything they found offensive. Movies of the late 1940s were more restrained in language and depiction than much modern-day prime-time television.⁵⁰ Producers grumbled about restrictions on their freedom, but they went along, at least in part because it was good for business. Not every movie was suitable for all ages, of course, but the overall image of the industry was kept, if not wholesome, at least acceptable to the average family. By the late 1940s the formula seemed to have been found. Family-oriented movies, peace, new-found prosperity, and a pervasive network of movie theatres boded well for the postwar industry.

Of course, everybody knows the punchline – television. Television privatized family entertainment in a way radio never could. In the United States, the problem for movies was apparent by 1950. In Canada, where television arrived later, movies thrived through the early 1950s. Between 1950 and 1952 paid admissions increased by 1.5 million. Then, as television spread across the country, the collapse began. In two years movie attendance dropped to 1945 levels, and in just six years (1953–9) movies lost half their audience. More than 450 theatres closed across the country, and family spending on movies fell from more than a quarter to just over a tenth of all recreational expenditure.⁵¹ As television became pervasive, movies ceased to be a normal part of family life. Many did not go to movies at all any more, and those who did went rarely.

The movie industry tried all sorts of responses. These were the days of CinemaScope, 3D, CinemaScope. There was even Smel-O-Vision: 'First, they moved – 1893. Then they talked – 1927. Now, they smell – 1959!' Most of all it was the era of the spectacular, big-budget epic. The idea was to give a range of colour and spectacle that demanded a large screen. The favourite themes were biblical. *Samson and Delilah* (1949), *The Robe* (1953), *The Ten Commandments* (1956), and *Ben Hur* (1959) allowed producers to mix violence, sexual temptation, and innuendo in a spectacular setting, and with a moral message acceptable to censors.⁵² All of these movies were indeed spectacular, and some were even good. They were also horribly expensive. What the movie industry needed was not one expensive spectacle every other year but a means of attracting steady customers to cheaply and quickly made productions.

The solution came in the teenager. Through the 1950s a growing percentage of movie production was aimed at the adolescent.⁵³ Such memorable titles as *I Was a Teenage Werewolf* (1957), and *I Was a*

Teenage Frankenstein (1957), *Boy Girl Goes Calypso*, and *Teenage from Outer Space* (1959) provided the newly identified teenage market with a special, segmented form of entertainment. Certain characteristics linked these movies. First, four genres dominated: juvenile delinquency (*Crime in the Streets*, *Hot Rod Rumble*), science fiction–horror (*Attack of the Fifty-Foot Woman*, *The Blob*), music (*The Girl Can't Help It*, *Love Me Tender*), and clean teen (*Gidget*, *Tammy and the Bachelor*). Many sank without a trace after a brief run. Others became famous infamous and were influential in the formation of a teen identity. Many, such as *The Blackboard Jungle* (1955), combined genres to double the appeal to the teenage audience.⁵⁴

There are no precise statistics on movie goers in Canada in the 1950s. Every indicator, though, is that the shift towards the teenage audience was substantial. In the United States marketing surveys indicated that, by the late 1950s, a majority of those who attended the movies once a week were between the ages of ten and nineteen. In contrast, 40 per cent of those fifty-five and over went to shows only once a year.⁵⁵ In Canada, as in the United States, the size of the teenage market was growing, while each year more and more children and adults over thirty stayed home, glued to the tube. Teens, however, had every incentive to get out of the house. It was a part of growing up, and the movies were both an entertainment and a chance to be on your own. Their attachment to their peer group encouraged them to go. The dominating culture ritualized the movie. The movie companies catered to the audience. It was a match that transformed the nature of movies with a few short years.

Nowhere was the changing nature of the movie market clearer than at the drive-in. The drive-in movie was a natural offshoot of the automobile culture and had first emerged in the United States before the war. In Canada, fewer cars per capita, a thinly spread population, and cold winters meant that, in 1947, there were still only seven drive-ins all of the country, accounting for a mere one-third of 1 per cent of the drive-in attendance. Ten years later there were 229 drive-ins in Canada, attracting 7 per cent of all moviegoers. Most important, attendance drive-ins held its own in spite of the spread of television.⁵⁶

Despite its image as a 'passion pit,' initially the drive-in theatre catered to the family. In the immediate postwar years, traditional theatre attendance hit all-time highs as dating couples or young marrieds combined companionship with the latest Hollywood entertainment. Then the baby boom began, and all of those couples found themselves

with small children and an entertainment dilemma. Baby-sitters were expensive, if available at all. Yet to take preschool children to a theatre invited chaos from the children and annoyed looks from the audience. The exploding ownership of automobiles brought a new possibility, however. The family could pack itself into the car and head off to the drive-in, where peanuts, popcorn, and toys could keep the kids amused. 'Bring the Children ... Come as You Are' was the way one drive-in chain enticed families in 1953.⁵⁷ Double features often catered to families by showing a children's movie first; when that was finished, the kids would, parents hoped, drift off to sleep in the back seat. The adults could then settle in to watch the spectators on the large screen in relative peace. Many baby-boomers have fragmented memories of curling up in the back seat while Charlton Heston performed one or another great deed in living colour on the big screen.

This market was extremely vulnerable to the lure of television, however. Kids could be entertained at home for free and put to bed at a reasonable time. By the mid-1950s, attendance at drive-ins in Canada began to slip.⁵⁸ However, the combination of the car, the dating culture, and the teenage orientation of movies provided a new source of income for drive-ins. Double horror features - triple features, dusk-to-dawn features all wooed the teenager. They could be a more troublesome audience than adults, but they had an endless and uncritical appetite for both the movies and the concessions. By the end of the decade, the image of the drive-in had gone from family outing to teenage passion-pit. It had, however, survived the onslaught of television by playing to the new market power of teenage culture.

AS A SYMBOL OF TEENAGE CULTURE, clothes and movies were insignificant compared with the great innovation of the decade - rock and roll. More than any other form of teenage expression, music distinguished the generations. More than any other teenage expression, the new music met antagonism from parents and the voices of authority in society.⁵⁹ Of course, such antagonism helped make rock and roll special and helped music to become the emblem of youth, an emblem that became even more powerful and all-pervasive in the next decade. The significance cannot be overstated. The period from the later 1950s to the early 1970s was unique in the history of music. In these years 'teenage music,' or 'young people's music,' emerged as totally separate from adult music. Its distinctiveness was not just a matter of proclivity towards a specific song, singer, or dance fad, but a matter of genre. The

very medium of music had a different significance and had a different role for old and young.

In 1950 there was no teenage music - period. Individual artists Frank Sinatra could and did attract an adolescent audience, Sinatra's crooning did not distinguish him in form or content from his appealing to adults. The big hits of the year included Guy Lombardo's 'The Third Man,' Patti Page's 'The Tennessee Waltz,' and Weavers' 'Good-Night Irene.' None of these songs was distinctly 'young.' Indeed, the barely begun baby boom had more of an impact upon the market than adolescents. Gene Autry's 'Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer' was a Number 1 record for several weeks.⁶⁰ The patterns held true throughout the early 1950s.

There were technological as well as demographic and cultural reasons for this. Until the 1950s music was just as family based an act as the movies - perhaps, more so. The vast majority of families at the end had only one radio and it was centrally located, usually in the living-room. Even as late as 1953, when statistics began to be kept on such things, fewer than a quarter of Canadian households had more than one radio.⁶¹ Even fewer had a phonograph, which at the time chumsy in design, relatively expensive, and restricted to the 78-record format that was both vulnerable to scratches and limited appeal. In a very real sense, therefore, access to music was a matter of family taste and adult arbitration. So long as that was the case, radio stations played music oriented towards a broad audience. The record producers saw their market in similar terms.

Recorded music was becoming more accessible year by year, however. Growing affluence increased the number of radios in the home. By 1959 the number of multiple-radio homes had increased by a few percentage points. More important, though, were two developments. First, as television arrived in the home, it replaced the radio as the family's entertainment centre. Adolescent access to radio - indeed, adolescent control of at least one radio - became increasingly common. Second, radios moved outside the home as automobiles spread, so, too, did car radios. In 1953 such devices were still a luxury, but, by the end of the decade, more than half of Canadian cars had radios.⁶² In fact, radios did not even have to be attached to cars. The new teenage market helped propel the transistor radio into a mass-market item. The turning-point came in 1957 when a newly renamed Japanese company, Sony, brought a compact and serviceable radio to the North American market. Rock n

had created millions of teenage consumers eager for these tiny, tiny sets.⁶³

The revolution in radios was matched by that in record-players. Through the decade, growing market demand helped create new technologies. Stereo appeared as early as 1957, though it wouldn't be common until the 1960s. By the end of the decade, 78s had been replaced by the much smaller and less breakable 45s and the 33 rpm 'LP.' The record-player, or 'hi-fi,' as it had become known, changed character between the early 1950s and early 1960s. Like the radio, the record-player had migrated from the living-room to the rumpus-room or bedroom. Big cabinet-style productions were fading away as an important market item to be replaced by light, portable, and cheap systems - in other words, systems designed for the teenage market. The result was dramatic. In 1955, 89,000 record-players were shipped from Canadian factories. By 1957, the number was more than 270,000.⁶⁴ The teenage market was obviously both a powerful force and a powerful incentive to those who could innovate to meet its demands.

On the creative side, all sorts of activity was taking place. In the United States, a powerful mix was occurring as white artists experimented with the musical ideas coming out of black-based blues and so-called hillbilly music. As well, black artists, though still mainly popular with other blacks, were gaining more and more access to recording studios and beginning to influence whites as well. This was especially true in the South, where several songs that we would later know as rock and roll were being played regionally. Music was a competitive business, and several Northern U.S. promoters, radio managers, and record companies were well aware of the distinct, energetic, and raunchy music. Some began experimenting with it, and by the 1953 and 1954 the mix of the cult of the teenager, the emergent music, and the increased access to sound was beginning to come together south of the border.⁶⁵

Canada was hardly at the forefront of all this. The black and Southern music which provided the drive and energy for the emergence of rock and roll was not part of our culture. Canadian radio stations were staid in comparison with their avant-garde American counterparts. Nevertheless, Canada too was laying the groundwork for the rise of new musical forms. The teenager was having an influence even before 'rock and roll' became a common term. As early as 1954 the Canadian pop-harmony group The Crew-Cuts hit Number 1 in the United States

with their song 'Sh-Boom.'⁶⁶ Coiffed in stylish (what else?) crew-cuts and decked out in casual but ever so neat attire, the group had obviously set out to appeal to teenagers.

The rise of rock and roll from a regional phenomenon to an international music form is a long and complex story that cannot be covered here in any detail. The key years are 1954 to 1957, precisely the same ones that saw the teenager come to the fore demographically and culturally. In 1954 Elvis Presley recorded his first record, and 'DJ' Alar Freed began work at a New York radio station and set out to promote rock and roll as 'the' new musical form. Bill Haley and His Comets reached the Top 10 with 'Shake, Rattle and Roll.' In 1955 the teenage juvenile-delinquent movie, *The Blackboard Jungle* used Haley's 'Rock Around the Clock' and sent both the movie and the song to best-selling status. (In a symbolic scene in the movie, the juvenile-delinquent teenagers trash their teacher's jazz records.)⁶⁷ Through 1954 and 1955 rock and roll got increasing air play in the United States. Rock concerts began to be held. The crossover between black and country music and the white middle class was well under way, with teenagers as the medium.

Another medium, television, was crucial to rock and roll's takeover of teenage music. Elvis Presley's appearance in 1956 on *The Milton Berle Show* and then, more important, on *Ed Sullivan* created the first rock and roll superstar.⁶⁸ The next year a Philadelphia-based show, *American Bandstand*, changed its format and went national on ABC. It became a weekly showcase for new stars and a source to which both Canadian and American teenagers could turn to ensure that they were up to date with the latest music, fashions, and dance tips. Teenage dance and disco shows were extremely cheap to produce, and imitations of *American Bandstand* began to appear in Canada, from Halifax to Vancouver. To the cruel observer, however, they often demonstrated only that these local teenagers had not properly learned their lessons about peer dance and dress. The rise of rock, specifically, and the teenage market, generally, also reshaped existing shows. CBC's *Cross-Canada Hit Parade* (1955-9) was, of course, respectable, but it was a showcase for the pop songs of the week. As the teenage hold over music increased, so too did the program's orientation towards that audience.⁶⁹

Thus Canadian youth was quickly integrated into the North American rock-and-roll culture. By 1956 Canadian teenagers were as aware of rock and roll as were their American counterparts. Elvis Presley's

record 'Hound Dog' sold more than 200,000 copies in Canada that year. His first movie, *Love Me Tender*, was a hit across the country. Canada even had its own teenage star when, in 1957, 'Diana' became a hit in both Canada and the United States for Ottawa's Paul Anka.⁷⁰

Rock and roll had thus overwhelmed national boundaries. Until the so-called British invasion of 1963-4, it was an American-based phenomenon with an international reach, Paul Anka or Britain's Cliff Richard notwithstanding. What is important about rock and roll for the purposes of this book, however, is that it erected generational differences in the same way that it ignored national ones. Sexual overtones, black origins, juvenile-delinquent imagery, and payola scandals didn't help the image of rock and roll with adults. A few well-publicized concert disturbances at Alan Freed rock shows completed the picture. Adult authority condemned the new music. One American psychiatrist labelled it 'a communicable disease with music appealing to adolescent insecurity and driving teenagers to do outlandish things ... it's cannibalistic and ritualistic.'⁷¹ A Canadian evangelist warned that 'It works on man's emotions like the music of the heathen in Africa.' Frank Tupper, a popular columnist with the Toronto *Telegram*, started an Elvis Suppression Fan Club.⁷²

What such opposition did, of course, was to make teenagers identify with the music as a particular possession of their generation. Adult tribes made rock and roll more enticing. Rock not only survived the onslaught but became an institution. By the early 1960s, when the baby-boomers began to enter their teenage years, rock and roll was neither a fad nor an issue. It was just what young people listened to.

ALL OF THESE CHANGES SINCE THE WAR meant that, by the time the baby-boomers turned thirteen, they were well aware that being a teenager was something special. What few fully understood was just how important teenage culture had become. The Western world had fixated on youth. By the early 1960s, the power and distinctiveness of teenagers as a group were unmistakable. For better or worse, teenage culture was now a major force in most Western nations.⁷³ The music and movie industries depended upon it, and other goods producers catered to it. The idea of high-school life and of the teenager had become a firmly implanted part of Western folk-lore. To be young was often confusing, but it was also an age now doted upon by society. Continuing affluence only reinforced this tendency. To be young was to be the future.

Compared with what was to follow, the relationship between the newly powerful cult of youth and adult society seemed tame. Under an accommodation seems to have been reached. Teenage society was given a special and semi-autonomous role within society, and return teenagers demonstrated that such a society would be respectable. It is striking how, both in Canada and in the United States, the image of youth improved around the turn of the decade. The fear of juvenile delinquency receded, though crime statistics showed it was actually on the increase. Much, though not all, of the earlier antagonism to rock and roll had ebbed, in part because a whole host of 'clean' singers like Pat Boone had sanitized the genre.⁷⁴ Even Elvis Presley was becoming, if not respectable, at least acceptable. He had shown his character; after all, when he had not complained about his conscription into the army in March 1958, his next album, 'GI Blues', showed a respectable, uninformed Elvis on the cover.⁷⁵ In Washington new youthful president, John F. Kennedy, provided new political inspiration to American youth. Their Canadian equivalents could only loathe the south of the border with envy at initiatives like the Peace Corps.

Yet there were cracks all over the place. The undercurrent of teenage (or more broadly, youth) rebellion had not disappeared. On the margins of young society, elements of disaffection, or outright hostility towards adult culture persisted. The outlaw motorcycle gangs had become a standard element in both Canadian and American cities. The infamous Hell's Angels were still only a California phenomenon but in Canada such gangs as the Satan's Choice, Black Diamond Riders, and others maintained the tough, anti-establishment theme of the early 1950s.

Another movement had different social origins and expression, but it too was a challenge to the conservative, corporate, and suburban values that so dominated the decade. The so-called Beat movement towards the end of the decade challenged the whole ethos of the society that spawned the organization man.⁷⁶ Writers like American Beat Goodman warned that, as the memory of the Depression faded, the material success wasn't going to hold society together. It was the adolescent, moreover, who was the first to recognize this fact. 'Our abundant society,' Goodman warned in 1960, 'is at present simply deficient in many of the most elementary objective opportunities and worthwhile goals that could make growing up worth-while.'⁷⁷ For him the problem of wayward youth was not just a reflection upon individual families failing to do their duty to their children. Now society itself was

under indictment. The social malaise that created the suburbs, not the family who failed to live by suburban ideals, was the basis of youth problems. This theme, if it moved in from the social margins where it existed in 1960, had the potential to reshape completely the image of the youthful rebel. From a social misfit, albeit one not wholly to blame, the youthful rebel would, under these new terms, become the perceptive person in a maladjusted world.

The baby-boomers, learning the newest dances and refashioning their wardrobes to deal with newly found interest in the opposite sex, didn't know it but they were entering a youth culture that was both powerful and fragile. Powerful because youth culture could no longer be denied. Fragile because the equivoise between this culture and its adult counterpart was under stress. That stress was about to rupture the checks and balances that had shaped postwar society.

7

The Arrival of the Sixties

The sixties have assumed mythical proportions. The Kennedys, student protest, Vietnam, drugs, flower power, free love, and militia mix together in a way that seems surreal by the staid standards of the years. It is also an age with a contentious reputation. Some look back on it as a time of hope and idealism. Others condemn it as the 'decade that would not die,' the decade whose long half-life continues to contaminate our own.¹ Whatever the assessment, most would agree it was an era of agitation and excitement, leadership lost author ideological debate reasserted itself after the calm of the 1950s. Most all, perhaps, it was the age of the 'generation gap,' for the story of the sixties is inseparable from that of the baby boom. The youth rebel was central to much of the fractiousness and dismay, much of the idealism and hope. It was the moment in history that forever defined the baby boom as a distinct generation.²

This notion is important: One of the problems for people trying to ascribe historical meaning to a 'generation' is that the term is so subjective. People, after all, are born continuously. How does one describe where one generation ends and another begins? For those who try to write about such things, one answer comes from the idea of a 'ac moment.' As one historian has said, generations are essentially 'an group shaped by history,'³ if so, there is no doubt that the ac moment for the baby-boom generation was 'the sixties.'

To understand the relationship between the generation and the decade, however, requires some disentanglement of historical fact and myth. For, however much the baby boom was a force within the decade, so too were events of the decade crucial in shaping the his of the baby boom. Economic circumstances, and social and political

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- 75 H.L. Campbell, *Curriculum Trends in Canadian Education* (Toronto 1952), 44
- 76 *Ibid.*, 100
- 77 R.J. Love, 'Where Do We Go from Here?' in *Education: A Collection of Essays on Canadian Education*. Vol. 3: 1958-1960 (Toronto 1960), 23
- 78 J.G. Althouse, 'Implications of the New Curriculum,' in his *Addresses*, 123-30, 124
- 79 J.G. Althouse, *Structures and Aims of Education* (Toronto n.d.), 52
- 80 Hope Commission, 161
- 81 *Ibid.*, 95
- 82 Love, 'Where Do We Go from Here?', 22
- 83 Hope Commission, 95
- 84 See for example Gerald Craig and Beatrice Hurley, *Discovering with Science* (Toronto 1959), 23-4, 254.
- 85 Alberta, Department of Education, *Interim Senior High School Curriculum Guide for English 10, English 11* (Edmonton 1965)
- 86 Alberta, Department of Education, School Book Branch, *Prior List and Requisition Forms* (1959) (Edmonton 1959). See also Department of Education, School Book Branch, *Enterprise Activities for Elementary Schools in the Province of Alberta* (Edmonton 1961). For Ontario see Ontario, Department of Education, *Text Books Approved or Recommended for Use in Elementary Schools*, issued annually. See also the 'Ontario Textbook Catalogue, 1946-1970,' compiled by Marian Press and Susan Adams, E.W.R. Jackson Library, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
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- 88 J.T. Phair and N.R. Speers, *Good Health Today* (Toronto 1960), 110
- 89 W.W. Charters, Dean Smiley, and Ruth Straug, *Health Secrets* (New York 1947), 69
- 90 Irene McDermott and Florence Nicholas, *Homemaking for Teenagers* (Peoria 1955), vol. 2, 650
- 91 Alberta, Department of Education, *Senior High School Handbook*, 1961-2, 5
- 92 McDermott and Nicholas, *Homemaking for Teenagers*, vol. 2, 680
- 93 Phair and Speers, *Good Health Today*, 47
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- 95 McDermott and Nicholas, *Homemaking for Teenagers*, vol. 2, 674
- 96 Helen Shoczer, Gladys Jenkins, and W.W. Bauer, *Into Your Teens* (Toronto 1952), 124-5

- 97 Province of Alberta, *Junior High Curriculum Guide for Home Economics*, 1961
- 98 Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, *Gallup Poll*, 18 June 1960
- 99 H.B. Neatby, *William Lyon Mackenzie King* vol. 3 (Toronto 1976), 304-5
- 100 Dorothy Baruch and Elizabeth Montgomery, *The Girl Next Door* (Chicago 1946)
- 101 Max Baithwaite and R.S. Lambert, *We Live in Ontario* (Toronto 1957), 220
- 102 Province of Alberta, Department of Education, *Junior High School Guide for Social Studies and Language* (September 1958)
- 103 D. Baker and J.M. Brown, *Chicks and Citizenship: A Sourcebook for Schools* (Toronto 1961). This is an aid designed to be used with the book *Communism: Economics*.
- 104 Alberta, Department of Education, *Junior High School Guide for Social Studies* (September 1958), 5-6
- 105 Quebec, *Report of the Chief Superintendent for 1952-3*, xi
- 106 *Ibid.*, 53
- 107 Government of Quebec, *First Report of the Minister of Education* (Quebec 1960), 15-16, 45.
- 108 On Quebec baby-boomers and the Quiet Revolution see Françoise Ricard, *The Lyric Generation: The Life and Times of the Baby Boomers*, trans. by Donald Whicker (Toronto 1994), 95-103.
- 109 W.W. Brown and Dorothy Baruch, *From Eight to Nine, Teacher's Edition* (Chicago 1959)
- 110 Hope Commission, 109
- 111 Phillips, *Public Secondary Education in Canada*, 68-9. Phillips's theories about relevance are brought home by any teacher's manual from the post-war years. See, for example, *The Glen Basic Readers' Manual for Teaching the Sixth Reader* (Toronto 1961), 9.

6: The Fifties and the Cult of the Teenager

- 1 Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War* (New York 1988), 9
- 2 David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York 1993), ch. 22
- 3 For a general history of youth see Peter Gillis, *Youth and History: Tradition and Change in European Age Relations, 1770-Present* (New York 1974).
- 4 James Giffert, *Cycle of Outrage: America's Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent in the 1950s* (New York 1996), 4. He uses the term 'episodic' to describe short-term forces affecting the image of youth. His term seems most appropriate here, though it is a congruent usage rather than identical.

- cal. See also John Modell, *Into One's Own: From Youth to Adulthood in the United States, 1920-1975* (Berkeley, CA, 1983)
- 5 Gillis, *Youth and History*, 133
- 6 The standard biography is D. Ross, *Stanley Hall: The Psychologist as Prophet* (Chicago 1972). On the creation of the 'scientific fact' of adolescence see Harry Hendrick, *Age, Class and the Male Youth Problem, 1880-1920* (Oxford 1990), 84-5. On Hall and Freud's visit to America in 1909 see William Strauss and Neil Howe, *Generations: The History of America's Future, 1584 to 2069* (New York 1991), 223.
- 7 G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence: Its Psychology and its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education*, 2 vols. (New York 1911)
- 8 Mortimer Herbert Appley, 'G. Stanley Hall: Vow on Mount Owen,' in Stewart Hulse and Bert Green, Jr. eds., *One Hundred Years of Psychological Research in America: G. Stanley Hall and the Johns Hopkins Tradition* (Baltimore 1986), 5-6
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- 13 Gillis, *Youth and History*, 117
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- 15 *Canada Year Book*, 1930, 124
- 16 Paula Ross, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s* (New York 1977). For a controversial attempt to define dominant and recessive generations see Strauss and Howe, *Generations*, ch. 4.
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- 19 Frederick Elkin and William Wexley, 'The Myth of Adolescent Culture,' *American Sociological Review* 20 (1955), 680-4
- 20 Tasker Witham, *The Adolescent in the American Novel, 1920-1960*, especially 88-89, 247-8
- 21 On the origins of this issue see Jeff Keshen, 'Wartime Jitters: Canada's Delinquency Scare and Its Consequences,' unpublished paper, University of Alberta, 1984. See also Gilbert, *Cycle of Outrage*, ch. 4, 'The Great Fear.'
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- 27 *Historical Statistics of Canada*, tables B1-14; Keshen, 'Wartime Jitters,' 12-13
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- 30 Pierre Berton, 'The Beany Gang,' *Maclean's*, 15 December 1948, 14
- 31 Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Annual Report of Juvenile Delinquents for the Year, 1935-1950*, catalogue 85-202
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- 37 Doherty, *Teenagers and Teenpics*, 45; Brenels, *Young, White and Miserable*, 94. For a discussion of the nature of culture in the United States in these years see T.J. Jackson Lears, 'The Concept of Cultural Hegemony,' *American Historical Review* 90 (1985), 567-98.
- 38 For typical examples of 'adult' values see *Seventeen*, October 1957, 18, announcing its own production by Bald Haupt, *Seventeen Book of Young Living Sex*, on the more general issue, Kirk Monteverde, *Teen Magazines: Communication of Values* (Boston 1975), 6.
- 39 Typical of the focus on the teenager in learned as well as popular literature was Ernest A. Smith, *American Youth Culture: Group Life in Teenage Society* (New York 1962).
- 40 As examples of the interest in Dean and Brando see 'Marlon Brando Speaks to You,' *Seventeen*, March 1956, 19-20, and 'James Dean: Bigger Than Life,' *Ibid.*, July 1957, 58. Dean also had a movie made about him, *The James Dean Story* (1957).
- 41 *Dean's Fall-Winter Catalogue for 1960*, 284
- 42 Beth Bailey, *Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore 1988), 50
- 43 Claudia Hatch, 'The Heart of the Matter,' *Seventeen*, February 1958, 91
- 44 Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, 12 October 1963 poll, indicated that 79 per cent of adults disapproved of teenagers going steady.
- 45 Bailey, *Front Porch to Back Seat*, 50-2
- 46 Rene König, *The Berliners Image: A Sociology of Fashion* (London 1973). The Wolfe quote is from the Introduction.
- 47 Elizabeth Ewing, *History of Twentieth Century Fashion* (London 1975), 177-8; Jane Darnley, *Fashion in the Forties and Fifties* (Shepperton 1975), 'Teenage Rock'
- 48 This material is drawn from Eatin's catalogues for 1957 to 1961, *Seventeen* for 1956-60, and a random perusal of high-school year books in the late

- 1950s and early 1960s. See also the two works cited in note 47, above, which give more general fashion trends of these years.
- 49 Attendance figures from Dominion Bureau of Statistics (DBS), *Motion Picture Theatres, Exhibitors and Distributors*, catalogue 63-207A, 1950-60
- 50 On the production codes see Murray Schumach, *The Race on the Cutting Room Floor: The Story of Movie and Television Censorship* (New York 1984)
- On the operation of one Canadian censor see Don Wetherall with Irene Knut, *Useful Pleasures: The Shaping of Leisure in Alberta, 1896-1945* (Edmonton 1980), 262-8.
- 51 DBS, *Motion Picture Theatres, 1950-60*
- 52 For a quick overview of the epic movies from this era see Derek Elley, *The Epic Film: Myths and History* (London 1984).
- 53 The best analysis of this is Doherty, *Teenagers and Teenpics*. The citation of Snell-O-Vision is on p. 28.
- 54 For a listing of teen movies see *Ibid.*, 'Selected Filmography,' 245-61.
- 55 *International Motion Picture Almanac, 1958* (New York 1958), 13A. See also 'Teen-Age Movie Going Habits,' *Motion Picture Herald*, 18 May 1959.
- 56 DBS, *Motion Picture Theatres, 1950-60*. There were no drive-in theatres in Quebec. For those who want real detail there is also the *International Motion Picture Almanac, 1958*, which lists the location of every drive-in in Canada (615-18).
- 57 Vancouver *Province*, 7 May 1953, 14
- 58 DBS, *Motion Picture Theatres, 1954, 1955, 1956*
- 59 Ed Ward, Geoffrey Stokes, and Ken Tucker, *Rock of Ages: The Rolling Stone History of Rock & Roll* (New York 1986), 105, 129-30, 175-7, indicate that strong police and parental resistances was persistent through the first years of rock and roll.
- 60 These hits are taken from *Billboard Magazine* and were compiled for me by David Kalas.
- 61 DBS, 'Household Facilities,' catalogue 64-202, September 1953, table 25
- 62 *Ibid.*, May 1959, table 28
- 63 Michael Schiffier, *The Portable Radio in American Life* (Tucson 1991), 209. On Canada see 'Transistor Radios for Your Pocket,' *Financial Post*, 29 August 1959, 45.
- 64 DBS, *Manufactures of Household TV and Radios*, catalogue 43-205, 1984, table 14
- 65 Ward, Stokes, and Tucker, *Rock of Ages*, ch. 4
- 66 'Sh-Boom! The Crazy Career of the Crew-Cuts,' *Maclean's*, 1 November 1954, 26-7+
- 67 *The Blackboard Jungle* (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer 1955). Directed by S. Brod

- 68 For the timeline of rock and roll's evolution see Rolling Stone, *Rock Almanac: The Chronicles of Rock and Roll* (New York 1983).
- 69 Paul Rutherford, *When Television Was Young: Primetime Canada, 1952-1967* (Toronto 1990), 198-8
- 70 'Diana' was the Number 16 hit of 1957. See Gary Theroux and Bob Gilbert, *The Top Ten, 1956-Present* (New York 1982)
- 71 Rolling Stone, *Rock Almanac*, 21. See also *Life Magazine*, 18 April 1965, 7, for a calmer but also critical assessment of the meaning of rock and roll.
- 72 Barbara Moon, 'What You Don't Need to Know about Rock 'n' Roll,' *Maclean's*, 7 July 1956, 12-13+.
- 73 Gilbert, *Cycle of Outrage*, 13
- 74 Doherty, *Teenagers and Teenpics*, 188
- 75 Ward, Stokes, and Tucker, *Rock of Ages*, 163
- 76 Bruce Cook, *The Beat Generation* (New York 1971), 10
- 77 Paul Goodman, *Growing Up Abused: Problems of Youth in an Organized System* (New York 1980), 12

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- 1 Peter Collier and David Horowitz, *Destructive Generation: Second Thoughts about the 60s* (Toronto 1989), 15
- 2 William Strauss and Neil Howe, *Generations* (New York 1991), 71; see also Anthony Esler, *Generations in History: An Introduction to the Concept* (n.p. 1982), 44
- 3 Esler, *Generations in History*, 44
- 4 According to one retrospective poll done in the United States, the favourite year with which to begin 'the sixties' was 1964. See Rex Welner and Dianne Stillman, *Woodstock Census: The Nationwide Survey of the Sixties Generation* (New York 1979), 35.
- 5 François Ricard, *The Lyric Generation: The Life and Times of the Baby Boomers* (Toronto 1994), 107
- 6 Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond, and John English, *Canada since 1945: Power, Politics, and Provincialism*, rev. ed. (Toronto 1989), 149
- 7 Cited in John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of American National Security Policy* (Toronto 1982), 131
- 8 Walter Lafeber, *America, Russia and the Cold War, 1945-1990* (New York 1990), 217-19
- 9 This material is drawn from David Horowitz, *From Yalta to Vietnam* (Harmondsworth 1967) and Lafeber, *America, Russia and the Cold War, 1945-1990*. Both are revisionist accounts, Horowitz's more so than Lafeber's, and

- themselves reflect the changed perspective on the Cold War that has occurred since 1980.
- 10 For a detailed study of Cuba in the Kennedy years see Michael R. Beschloss, *The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev, 1960-1963* (New York 1991), 90-117, 412-598. For a reaction immediately after the fact see Karl E. Meyer and Tad Szulc, *The Cuban Invasion: The Chronicle of a Disaster* (New York 1962).
- 11 'Hate Running Loose Hits Out at Nixon,' *Life*, 26 May 1958, 32-8. See also Stephen Ambrose, *Nixon: The Education of a Politician, 1913-1962* (New York 1987), 472-8, 481-2.
- 12 Ernest Levos, 'The War for Men's Minds: The Canadian Perspective on Foreign Policy in Asia, 1945-1957,' PhD thesis, University of Alberta, 1991
- 13 J. Chent, 'Canada, the United States and the Cuban Missile Crisis,' *Pacific Historical Review* 1979, 165-79
- 14 National Archives of Canada [NAC], Records of the Canadian Union of Students, vol. 7, file 908-0: Memo dated June 1968. See also vol. 7, file - September: 'Resolutions of the 30th Congress,' 3-9 September 1968, 38-9.
- 15 Kennedy is reported to have said after his state visit to Ottawa, 'I didn't think he was a son of a bitch ... I thought he was a prick': Beschloss, *The Crisis Years*, 163.
- 16 See Bothwell, Drummond, and English, *Canada since 1945*, 234-8; George Grant, *Lament for a Nation: The Defeat of Canadian Nationalism* (Toronto 1965); Pierre Berton, *Maclean's*, 6 April 1963, 62; Ramsey Cook, 'Foreign Policy and the Election: An Uncertain Trumpet,' *International Journal* (Summer 1963), 374-80.
- 17 Edward Morgan, *The 60s Experience: Hard Lessons about Modern America* (Philadelphia 1991), 111-12
- 18 McMaster University, Special Collections, CUCND-SUPA Archives, Box 1: Gary Moffat, Introduction, *History of the Canadian Peace Movement until 1968*, 147
- 19 Bothwell, Drummond, and English, *Canada since 1945*, 241
- 20 Michael S. Cross, ed., *The Decline and Fall of a Good Idea: CCF-NDP Manifestos, 1932-1969* (Toronto 1974), 40
- 21 There are many histories and memoirs of the anti-segregation movement in the South. See on the early years Aldon D. Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement* (New York 1984). See also William H. Chafe, 'The Civil Rights Revolution, 1945-1960: The Gods Bring Thread to Webs Begun,' in Robert Brenner and Gary Richard, eds., *Reshaping American Society and Institutions, 1945-1960* (Columbus, OH, 1982), 69-100, 71-83. Morgan, *The*